I: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

have been most frequent among the chiefly women. Unfortunate love, spite, jealousy, and hurt vanity were probably the main causes of suicide. It is probable that suicide has not occurred recently as I do not remember having a single case mentioned to me by natives.

Concepts of Life after Death

There are two contradictory statements about the Easter Island beliefs concerning the after life. These may contain some truth but are probably superficial and inaccurate statements. The more ancient and the more reliable information is that of Roussel, who says (190, p. 495):

> After death the soul of a person went to a foreign country where the degree of his happiness depended upon the extent to which he had respected tapus during his life. If the soul was happy (well dressed) it remained forever in the new country. If it was unhappy (poorly dressed), it returned to harass its relatives.

Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120) expresses the same general idea, but adds that the souls of bad people stay near the corpses and suffer hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. It has already been shown that the latter belief justified the food offerings put on the graves (p. 118).

This view of the future life is probably too ingenuous to be the true conception of the learned natives. Another version of the same problem, collected by Geiseler (87, p. 31) many years later, associates the destiny of souls with the god Makemake who kills and eats the souls of the wicked dead, while the souls of the good are allowed to rest on the island under his protection. The unburied dead can see Makemake when he comes for them and thus may escape him. Geiseler (87, p. 30) mistook the hen houses scattered about the island for sepulchers and made the erroneous statement that the dead of high rank were put into a stone house that had two holes through which their souls might escape when pursued by Makemake. Beliefs concerning ghosts and the uncanny appearance of souls of the dead have been dealt with elsewhere (pp. 318-320).

There is a belief, expressed in legends, that the souls of the departed were helpful to their relatives and sent them material favors. One father promised his son before his death that he would send him a tree, another foretold the coming of a turtle (p. 372). These gifts were exclusively destined to the persons designated by the dead man; if other people attempted to appropriate them the gifts were withdrawn. The same belief existed in the Tuamotus.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Very little information on social organization can be found in the missionaries' accounts of Easter Island. This is not due to lack of interest but rather to the series of catastrophes which befell Easter Island immediately preceding the advent of the missionaries and which removed from the tribes their

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

they presented to Captain Cook (83, vol. 1, p. 579), laying a few potatoes on top. The larcenies were committed so openly and so generally that they seem to have been considered perfectly natural, although by running away the natives showed that they felt they might be punished if they were caught in the act of pilfering.

While anchored off Easter Island, Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 228) received some natives on board his ship:

> The crew were busy taking off their underwear when one of the savages proved himself to be a very clever thief. He sat, as if he did not notice it, upon a red necktie which he hid very adroitly in a little basket he had with him. When obliged to give back the tie he manifested neither anger nor surprise. He tried his trick again with the hope of being more successful next time.

Geiseler (87, p. 29) says that the natives "deem it a sign of cleverness" to plunder Europeans. "We observed during our stay at Vaihu that they attempted, in every way, to recover the eggs they had already sold to us and to sell them a second time. They would burst into laughter when we noticed the theft."

When Eyraud went to the island for the first time, he was robbed of his clothing and left almost naked. Once, as he worked in a well, he was threatened with death if he did not hand over immediately the trousers he had on. Ollivier (165, p. 254) writes in a letter to his superior that "the instinct of destruction together with that of stealing appear to me as the dominant features of their character."

The islanders of today have changed very little. In trade they perpetrate the most remarkable tricks to deceive the foreigners. After the visit of the *Baquedano* in 1934, one of them boasted that he had sold a bag full of stones as antiques. For years they have robbed the Williamson-Balfour Company of cattle and sheep; in 1934 they stole more than 3,000 sheep. Their raids are not justified by necessity; the Company sells them sheep at 20 cents a head, an amount they can easily afford to pay. The company store is constantly threatened by possible plundering. Despite the police organized by company managers, it is seldom that thieves are caught in the very act of stealing. Although all know who the culprits are, no one would dare to tell their names. In Easter Island, as in Tahiti, it was probably considered smart to steal if the larceny remained undiscovered.

Thomson (215, p. 465) correctly says that the natives saw no moral delinquency in the practice of thieving. More doubtful is his statement, based on information from Salmon, that "they had a god of thieving, and successful operations were believed to be accomplished under his patronage, and only detected when not sanctioned by that spirit."

The treatment of visitors differed not at all from the methods the natives would have used among themselves had such abuse been tolerated without retaliation. Gonzalez (90, p. 98) remarks:

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

entertainments and debauches with competitions between parties from the different bays" (230, vol. 6, p. 125). Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69), who lived many years among the islanders, declares that he never saw any outward expression of religion. 177 771

Now that three generations have passed since the Christianization of the island, almost nothing is remembered about the beliefs and rites of paganism. My attempt to reconstruct some of the pattern of ancient religion rests on bits of evidence taken from several sources. These I checked as best I could.

GODS

Not even a summary classification of the ancient deities can be expected from present-day natives of Easter Island. The word *atua*, which formerly designated pagan deities is now applied to the Christian God. All supernatural beings are classified today under the name of *akuaku*, or more frequently *tatane* (derived from the French satan), or sometimes *varua* (from the Tahitian word meaning spirit). Though memory of the great Polynesian gods and heroes had faded, Routledge (194, p. 236) in 1915 obtained the names of about 90 *akuaku*, lesser gods or spirits. Now, even the old men remember only 30 names. 776 ●

It is likely that the various lists of *akuaku* contain the names of gods who were worshipped by certain tribes or lineages and whose influence was restricted to a definite district; Makemake who, beyond any doubt, was the greatest functioning god of the island has been relegated by the pious natives to the file of *akuaku* or *tatane*.

Easter Island gods, like those everywhere in Polynesia, must have belonged to two classes. The first class included the great figures of creation and major gods like Tangaroa, Tu, and Rongo; the second class embraced an infinity of deities who ranged probably from the sons of the great gods to deified ancestors or simple spirits. The place of a god in one or the other of these two categories did not correspond to his actual importance in religion and in the sentiments of the worshipper. Makemake, who seems to have been the principal god of the islanders, does not figure in the pantheon of the major gods, though he has absorbed many an attribute or power originally invested in the major gods.

The gods of Easter Island, like other Polynesian gods, could be embodied in objects and animals. This power of incarnation is shown most clearly by the bird-man cult and by numerous representations of the god Makemake as a human being with a bird's head.

Major Gods

The most striking feature of Easter Island religion is the unimportance of the great gods and heroes of other Polynesian religions. Seldom is there a

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

definite reference to Tangaroa, Tu, Hiro, Rongo, or Tane—the most prominent characters of mythology throughout Polynesia. However, these gods were not entirely unknown; they seem to have had a purely academic existence and, as in Mangareva (28, p. 418), they were recorded only as legendary figures or as divine ancestors heading genealogies. The only definite evidence that Rongo and Tangaroa were known is their mention at the beginning of the genealogy of the king's family.

HIRO

The name of Hiro appears in a very old invocation for rain (p. 330). A stone near ahu Mahatua on the northeast coast is named Pu-o-Hiro (the Trumpet-of-Hiro). It is pierced by a natural hole and it is said that when the northwest wind blows, a sound like that of a trumpet is produced. The stone is covered with carved representations of the vulva (*komari*). An ahu on the south coast is called Tangaroa-Hiro. Hiro in the Society Islands is the protector of thieves. The Easter Islanders had a god invoked by those who had committed a larceny in order not to be caught. Presumably this unknown patron of thieves was Hiro.

TANGAROA

The kings of Easter Island, like those of Mangareva and other Polynesian islands, traced their origin back to Tangaroa. The exalted position of Tangaroa at the head of the genealogy of kings might be interpreted as a sign that he was one of the gods. As in Samoa and the Society Islands a month name of the local calendar (November) is called after the god (Tangaroa-uri). On Easter Island there is still a myth about a King Tangaroa who came to the island and manifested his supernatural powers in many ways. Although modern natives maintain that this Tangaroa was merely a human invested with mana, there is little doubt that he was originally a god. One informant told me that his name was Tangaroa-mea, the name of one of the great gods of Mangareva. As my informants had heard of the god Tangaroa of Mangareva, the analogy between the two names may be due to recent borrowings, but the tale itself was given to me as being purely local. Simon Rirorokо, the last descendant of the kings, and Tepano, who told me the tale, insisted that King Tangaroa came from Mangareva.

The king, Tangaroa-mea said: "I shall enter the water like a seal and go to a country where I shall be king." The king, his brother, said: "You will die, it is a distant country, you cannot go quickly. I can go there and return the same day."

They quarreled. Victory was Tangaroa's and he went to Easter Island. His mana was over the sea, in which he was like a seal. The mana of his brother was over the land.

He landed at Tonga-riki, and he was seen by the people. The clamor resounded: "People of the land, a seal has landed at Tonga-riki." People said: "He has seal's feet,

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

seal's hands, but a man's face." They wanted to kill him. The king, Tangaroa, said: "I am the king, Tangaroa, I am not a seal." The people said: "No, he is a seal with a voice." 776 773 539

They assaulted him with stones. They shouted: "Haul him to the shore." They carried him to Pito-kura. They dug out an oven, put Tangaroa inside, and closed it with stones. Later they opened the oven, but the meat was still raw. They covered the oven again and they stayed there waiting. They opened the oven again, and the meat was not cooked.

The people said: "It was true, he was really a king, he was Tangaroa and not a seal. Therefore he is half raw."

The brother of Tangaroa, Teko-of-the-long-feet, saw that his brother did not come back in one month. This king of a foreign country cried for his brother. He went to search for him. He landed on the islet. He put his foot at Retu (near Vai-tea). He was looking for his brother. He lifted his foot and stepped on Poike, but he did not see his brother. "Where is Tangaroa, the king?" he asked at Rano-kao, again at Retu, and at Pui. The men of the land were afraid. He lifted his foot again at Puku-puhipuhi, the place Where-Teko-planted-his-digging-stick. He again lifted his foot beyond Poike. He asked again, "Where is Tangaroa, the king?" He asked for the last time for the king, Tangaroa. He turned back, he disappeared to the foreign country. His feet trampled on the earth, but his head reached the sky. He was always asking about Tangaroa, the king.

It is highly significant that in this myth Tangaroa appears in the form of a seal. In the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Samoa sea animals are the favorite incarnations (*ata*) of this god, for throughout Polynesia, Tangaroa was a sea god. The character of the deity is evidenced by the passage of the myth telling of Tangaroa's mana (power) over the sea and his brother's over the land.

RONGO

Rongo is mentioned in the kings' genealogy after Tangaroa and is given as the son of Tangaroa. There is no evidence that the site of Orongo was named after Rongo. 776

MAKEMAKE

The greatest god of the Easter Islanders was Makemake. He is the only one whose memory has been preserved until the present day. The first allusion to Makemake is found in the early account of Gonzalez expedition (90, p. 100):

> I observed that on the day on which we erected the crosses, when our chaplains went accompanying the litanies, numbers of natives stepped forward onto the path and offered their cloaks, while the women presented hens and pullets, and all cried *Maca Maca*, treating them with much veneration until they had passed beyond the rocks by which the track they were following was encumbered. 776 782

This passage proves that in the middle of the eighteenth century Makemake was so important in religion that the natives were convinced that the god of the foreigners could be none other than Makemake. The offering of clothes and chickens indicates that such gifts were regularly presented to

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

776 782 **Makemake. Later missionaries confirm the statements of the Spaniards. The information given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, pp. 117-131) is especially valuable:**

Among the gods and goddesses of their mythology, our Indians acknowledge one they call the Great God, Etua, who they say is superior to all the others. Ko Makemake was his name. He rewarded the good and punished the bad. Our islanders apparently do not suspect the existence of an evil spirit and no proper name in their language expressed such a concept. In order to designate the devil, we were obliged to add to their vocabulary the word *Haporo* (devil).

782 798 However Makemake gave orders to the men through priests, male and female. These imposters, very able ventriloquists, pretended that the great god spoke through their mouths and asked sacrifices of chickens, sweet potatoes, fish, etc. Of course everything was to the advantage of the representatives of the so-called divinity.

What was more horrible was to see sometimes small children disappear: Makemake had required victims, the priests said. But as a matter of fact they had themselves killed, roasted, and eaten the sacrifice. "How happy we are," some poor mothers told us. "We are no longer afraid that our children will be taken away as formerly."

Makemake manifested his anger by thunder. We were told when we came of a bad man who had been killed by lightning.

The great god had no wife. As for the others I counted ten of them who lived with families as our Kanakas told us.

I did not observe that our Oceanians attributed vices to the supreme god. As to the atrocities committed in his name they either did not appear as such, because of the superstitions maintained by the priests, or they were attributed to the priests whom they blamed for not being the true interpreters of the god's will.

Through the will and work of the supreme god, the first man and the first woman came from the earth more or less as the plant that springs up from the soil. They had immortal souls as had all their descendants. (See also Palmer, 171, p. 774.)

Geiseler (87, pp. 31, 33) gives the following details about Makemake:

Their religion is poor. Their principal gods are Makemake, the creator, and Haua. To these deities they offered the first products of the soil.

Makemake is represented by the eggs of the birds of the island of Motu-nui on the southwest side of the Rano-kao crater and they are fetched in July, August, and September. During all the other months they are tapu. Makemake is worshipped in the form of sea birds carved in the rock or painted.

Makemake is the most feared god. He kills and eats the souls of the dead when they have been bad when alive. He protects the souls of the good which under his protection after death sleep on the island . . .

The principal god Makemake is not directly worshipped, but receives honors through a series of wooden images which are carried around at the feasts in honor of the god.

They [the natives] do not seem to have legends or ideas about the creation of the world, the origin of the natural phenomena. Makemake made everything—the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars. They do not know apparently any more.

776 773 539 The myth transcribed below explains the origin of Makemake who was born from a skull:

There was a priestess watching over a skull on a rock in the bay of Tonga-riki, in front of the ahu Tonga-riki. The spirit Puna of the ahu was always looking at the priestess. One day a wave came and took the skull that was watched on the rock in front of the bay of Tonga-riki. The wave swept away the skull from above; it floated. The eyes of the priestess saw the skull. She leaped to take it, she swam behind the skull which floated ahead. She arrived in the middle of the sea, she was tired, she landed

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

on the island of Matiro-hiva. Haua saw this woman who was a priestess. He asked: "Where do you come from?" "I am pursuing my skull." Haua said: "It is not a skull, but the god Makemake." 776 773 539

The priestess stayed. Haua fished a *mahore* fish for her to eat. They stayed all their days. One day Makemake said to Haua: "What would you say to our driving the birds to the country I have come from? For that purpose I came here. Let us go." Haua said to Makemake: "It is good, tell the old woman priestess so that we may all three go together so she will pronounce our names and say to the people that when they take the cooked food into the house they must pronounce our names: 'Take for Haua, for Makemake.' Say that to the old woman so she will warn the people of the interior above the earth." Makemake told this woman to teach what she had heard Haua say to Makemake.

Makemake went back and said to Haua: "Let us go drive the birds to the country." Haua said: "Let us go." They both went and they drove the birds. The old woman was with them. The birds went and landed. Makemake looked for a nice place. They left the birds at a place called Kauhanga. They stayed three years. The birds were eaten by men, women, and children. Makemake came back with Haua. They chased the birds again and left them at Vaiatare. They waited again for three years. They saw that men ate the eggs. They again drove the birds to the island of Motu-nui. The birds remained in the place where no men were, therefore all was good for them.

The tale turns back to the old woman. She stayed in a house at a place called Valmaho. She taught the people when they took the food out of the oven and when they brought the basket with sweet potatoes into the house that they must say: "Take for Haua, take for Makemake." For sugar cane, fish, eels, tuna fish, and all the foods, they pronounced the names of Haua and Makemake.

The tale goes back to the birds of the island. The men went to the island and saw many birds and eggs of the *manu-tara* (sooty tern). They turned back and landed ashore, they talked to the men, the women, the children. All the tribe went up and built houses at Orongo. They stayed there and celebrated the feast of the house, the feast of the finished house; they pronounced the names of Haua and Makemake. Time passed. The season for the sooty tern eggs arrived. The men went up to Orongo and stayed there. The servants went to the island, the masters remained at Mataveri. The *manu-tara* laid their eggs. The servant found the first egg of the bird, he took it, he went keeping his hand on the first egg, returning from the island. Therefore another feast of the egg was made after the first one when the birds were driven by Haua and Makemake.

This legend reveals three important beliefs concerning Makemake, first of which is his origin from a skull or his incarnation into a skull. The order of incarnation will always be obscure because the legend is incomplete. The association of the god with a skull suggests the possibility that he is the supernatural being represented so frequently in rock carvings, which depict a human face with huge eye sockets. The large orbits may be a conventional pattern such as that used in the Marquesas for figuring a human head, but it is equally possible that the Easter Island artists wished to represent a skull. The connection that I am trying to establish is purely hypothetical, but it is supported by many bits of evidence. The images of the bird-man at Orongo, which even in early days were interpreted by the natives as symbolic of Makemake, are closely associated with the big-eyed head. 776 773

The second piece of important information embodied in the legend is the linking of Makemake and Haua. No mention has ever been made of Haua

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

except in connection with Makemake. The formula which accompanies an offering to Makemake always includes Haua who appears in the myth as the god's companion.

The third revelation of the myth is the connection between Makemake and the birds of the bird cult of Orongo. The numerous accounts of this cult do not designate which god was honored by all the ceremonies. The legend of Makemake suggests that the man who discovered the first *manu-tara* egg was perhaps an incarnation of Makemake. The rock carvings at the end of the village of Orongo show the man with a bird's head holding an egg in his hand. The islanders called these figures Makemake. The form of the beak on most of the image heads shows clearly that they did not represent the features of the tern (*manu-tara*) whose first eggs were so eagerly sought in the annual race at Orongo. The beak most often recalls that of the frigate (man-of-war) bird. If the rock carvings were representations of the bird-men it is to be supposed that the artists tried to figure the *manu-tara* which had a prominent place in Easter Island mythology.

Makemake is frequently regarded as a supreme justice which may have been suggested by Christian influence or by some mythical connection of the god with the hereafter or mansion of the souls. Thomson (215, p. 482) regards Makemake as "the great spirit of the sea." The fragments of tradition which were obtained by the missionaries allude to Makemake as creator of mankind, whom he made out of earth. I collected the following legend which confirms these statements:

> Makemake looked for a calabash filled with water. He mastusbated in the water of the calabash. Red flesh sprouted out. It was no good. He tried again with a stone, he masturbated with a stone. It was no good. He tried with earth. He molded and masturbated with it. There was a bad odor. Then were born Tive, Rarai, Hova, and the old woman, Arangi-kote-kote.

In this fragment of myth Makemake, as creator of mankind, plays the part assumed by Tane or Tiki in the mythology of central and marginal Polynesia. The theme of the multiple copulation of Makemake is paralleled by the various matings of Tane in New Zealand and Tiki in Mangareva and the Tuamotus. In the Maori mythology Tane begat by Hine-ahu-one, his wife, the eggs of a bird from which have sprung all the birds of the air. As Makemake also produces birds, I shall consider Makemake the local Easter Island name for the old god Tane.

Makemake and Hina-kauhara, the first woman born from Tiki (p. 315) and Hina-popoia (Hina-the-heaped-up), are mentioned together in an obscure and garbled myth, which was told to me as a story concerning Makemake. Hina-kauhara or Hina, undoubtedly a woman, becomes a man who wants to be mistaken for Makemake. The short chant in the legend is per-

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islander's OY2

haps the only genuine element of the myth. The rest of the tale seems to have been built up to explain this chant whose original significance is lost.

There was red water. Hina-kauhara looked at the woman and fell in love, he took her, they slept together, they stayed in their house. In order that the girl should not fall in love with another man he filled red water, he went to a *koro* house. He made a hole in the ground and Hina-kauhara told another young man to go up onto the roof of the *koro* house and to pour red water while Hina-kauhara sang below in the *koro* house. So the young man on the roof poured the water from above while Hina-kauhara chanted: "O Hina shed your red urine, O Hina shed your red urine, O Haua, O Makemake, shed your red urine, O Hina."

He went to another *koro* house, the same thing happened. When he came to the other *koro* house he made the same recommendations to his comrades: "When I weep, come you to the place and shed water as you did before, in the first *koro* house, I will make Makemake of you, I will make Haua of you so that people shall not recognize you." The other young man said: "It is all right, it is good."

TIVE AND HOVA

Roussel (190, p. 495) states: "The Rapa-nui have a great many gods, the most powerul, those who are the origination of all the others are: Hiva, Makemake, and Tive." Tive and Hiva (Hova) are mentioned in the creation myth (p. 314) as the first beings created by Makemake out of earth. The importance given in the Easter Island mythology to gods whose names are unknown in the rest of Polynesia shows that the emigrants who settled on the island substituted for some of the principal Polynesian deities lesser gods who took their rank and attributes.

RUANUKU

Ruanuku, who is a god of central Polynesia and of Mangareva, appears in Thomson's long list of kings and in the creation chant under the garbled form of Kaunuku or Kuanuku, certainly a misspelling for Ruanuku.

ATUA-METUA

Atua-metua (God-the-parent) is mentioned three times in the creation chant, but no other memory of him has been preserved. He must not be confused with the Mangarevan Atu-motua whose name means the Father-lord or the First-lord (28, p. 418).

TIKI

Although Makemake absorbed his personality, Tiki, the first man or the creator of mankind, is mentioned several times in the creation chant. As in the mythology of other islands, he mates with Hina-popoia (Hina-the-heaped-up), whom we recognize as the woman that Tiki made for himself out of a heap of sand (*ahu-one*). Later Tiki copulates with his daughter, designated here as Hina-kauhara.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

OREOOREO

Geiseler (87, p. 16) was told that the name of the human figure with conventionalized big eyes, painted on a slab at Orongo, was the god Oreoореo. This is the only mention of such a god in Easter Island traditions.

Lesser Gods

Most of the lesser gods are mere names to us. We do not know even the customary residences of some of them, although all the *akuaku* of high rank were supposed to haunt a particular spot on the island and maintain connections with the people living near by. They were supernatural beings who belonged to a certain district or family. A few of them were real gods, others were demons or nature spirits, and others were spirits of deified dead. All lesser gods are now grouped under the general term *akuaku*, which is applied also to the spirits of the dead when they appear as ghosts. Minor gods are still designated by a name and given residence and some of them by a personality defined in myths or tales. But any separation of minor gods from spirits and ghosts based on defined personality is artificial and may be imposing a clarity of distinction which never existed. Likewise it is difficult to distinguish between minor gods who were worshipped and legendary characters who were endowed with superhuman power but who never functioned as actual gods. *Akuaku* figures, mentioned in tales, who have no apparent connection with religion and who probably have no independent existence outside of myth, are given elsewhere (p. 318).

Akuaku were both male and female. They were often represented as human beings, who might have been mistaken for ordinary creatures had the story teller not classified them as *akuaku* or *tatane*. They married ordinary men or women, had children by them and died. They could even be killed if their adversary was strong enough or sly enough. At times their supernatural power manifested itself in the ability to fly through the air and change rapidly from one place to another.

Some *akuaku* were embodied in animals, in natural or artificial things, or in phenomena. Generally the animals were considered as supernatural beasts rather than as spirits transformed into or embodied in animals. Spirits embodied in things or phenomena bear the names of their material representation and probably were believed to have no existence independent of their apparent form. Thus, Te Emu is a "Landslide"; Mata-vara-vara "the Rain-with-heavy-drops"; Paepae-atari-vera "a House."

Men are indebted to the minor gods or demons for many important discoveries and improvements in their culture. The art of tattooing was introduced by the sons of two *akuaku*—Vie Moko (The Lizard Woman) and Vie

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Kena (The Gannet Woman). The female *akuaku*, in the form of birds, taught men to extract dye from turmeric (*Curcuma longa*). The first bone fishhooks were made by Ure, a capricious and strange character of Easter Island folklore. An *akuaku* bird (the frigate) brought a new kind of yam as a gift to a man called Rapu.

Not all *akuaku* were well disposed toward men. In remote times the island was full of mischievous and murderous demons. Thirty of them were destroyed by a man called Raraku in a temporary fit of madness. The general slaughtering by Raraku did not relieve the land from all its devils, for tales describe monsters, like the Woman-of-the-long-arm, who were constant menaces to men until they were killed. Some demons proved helpful in difficult circumstances. Hiva-karere (The-flying-foreigner), Mata-mata-vara-vara-ahu-Raai (The-rain-with-large-drops-of-the-ahu-Raai), and Paepae-a-Tari-vera (Stone-house-of-Tari-vera) saved a famous warrior (*matatoa*), whose soul (*kuhane*) was kidnapped by another spirit.

Through old Viriamo, some information has come to us about the relations between men and *akuaku*. The spirits or gods of Viriamo's district were Tare and Rapahango. Rapahango was also the family name of my informant, Victoria, who claimed for her ancestors some association with that *akuaku*. Rapahango and Tare were especially well disposed toward the Tupa-hotu and brought their friends in this tribe food they had stolen from other people. In exchange, the *akuaku* received an offering each time an *umu* (earth oven) was opened in a house they favored with their visits. Before starting the meal, the host or some important guest would say: "This is for such-and-such an *akuaku* . . . " I understood that a small portion of the meal was presented to the god or the spirit; but Routledge (194, p. 237) got the impression that "the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only."

The spirits had long talks with men or women who succeeded in winning their confidence. They foretold the future, announced impending dangers, and revealed secret things. I was told by Viriamo's son that in her youth Viriamo had been seen at night speaking familiarly with the two spirits, Tare and Rapahango. The voices of these spirits were always high-pitched and recognizable. When the *akuaku* were in a house, those who wanted to have an interview with them or make offerings to them had to crawl into the hut backwards.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Following is the list of *akuaku* whose memory has been preserved and the available names of their residences:

Name of akuaku	Residence
Hitirau	Punapau
Nuku-te-mango (Nuku-the-shark)	Punapau
Rarai-a-hova	?
Vairapa	?
Heke-ma-kau (The-swimming-octopus)	Vaihu
Toki-te-ate (The-stone-adz-of-ate)	Hanga-paukura
Pepehu	Akahanga
Turu-te-akaviri	Tonga-riki
Puna	Tonga-riki
Rai-ko-puku	Rano-kao
Mataveri-o-tai	Mataveri
Vie Keu-tea	Mataveri
Mangamanga-oraki	Mataveri
Ura-metometo	Mataveri
Kahu-ma-hau (Cloth-of-hau)	Tahai
Mokomoko-puapua (The-beating-lizard)	Tahai
Moko-piki (The-climbing-lizard)	Tahai
Turu-te-akaviri	Tonga-riki
Mohevaheva	Apina
Verenga or Rerenga-uka	Hanga-roa
Mata-kurakura (The-red-eye)	Ovahe
Manu-mea (The-red-bird)	Angoteo
Mata-mata-pea (The-tattooed-eye)	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Hiva	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Rapahango	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Tare	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Hiku-nene-motoi-pua	Rano-aroi
Toitoi	Motu-nui

Toitoi is mentioned in a chant in connection with Makemake:

Ka amo taau kahi	He loaded his tuna fish
Ka iri e ravarangi,	He went up crying,
"Aaku e mo te atua	"I [bring it] for the god
Mo Toitoi ma Motu-nui	For Toitoi of Motu-nui
Ka Makemake."	For Makemake."
Ka iri, e Mati e,	Go up, O Mati,
Ki te vai uutu	To draw water
Papa hirohiro.	From fissured rock.

Spirits and Ghosts

Lower in rank than the individualized spirits were multitudes of nameless ones—possibly spirits of the dead, small nature demons, or genii. The natives were vague about their origin and the same uncertainty probably existed even when the ancient conceptions of the spirit world were still held. Roussel (190, p. 495) writes that the soul or spirit was conceived as "something elusive, a sort of ghost without a head or provided only with ribs."

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

These spirits were sometimes amiable and well disposed toward certain men. Natives told both Routledge (194, p. 237) and me of a man whose spirit dug his potato field for him every night. Magicians, especially sorcerers, were served by spirits who were their familiars. The servant-spirits would enter a man whom their master wished to kill or would leave their victim if ordered to do so. They would unveil the future, and foretell the issue of wars or the results of the annual egg races at Orongo.

Probably most of the spirits were mischievous and fond of playing tricks on men. Routledge believes that they were kind or harmful depending upon whether or not they were well fed. However, offerings of food were probably made only to well-known gods or to spirits having distinct personalities. Probably the tempers of the minor demons were unaffected by the conduct of men toward them.

The name *akuaku*, now used indiscriminately for lesser gods and spirits, must have meant originally only ghosts or spirits of the dead, although it is not found elsewhere in Polynesia with this meaning. Desmedt (59, p. 135) considers the Easter Island term *akuaku* cognate with the Mangarevan *akuaku*, which means "thin, speaking only of men and women." This parallel is supported by the Easter Island idea in which ghosts resemble emaciated men.

Akuaku entered the *niuhi* which were ferocious, half-legendary sharks or other dangerous sea animals. In this form they killed people. My informant probably rationalized this old belief by telling me that only bad men were prey of shark spirits. The *akuaku* also caused diseases and were expelled by priests to save their patients.

Spirits of the dead had all the features of the living, but they were emaciated, had protruding bones, and their bowels could be seen in their sunken abdomens. In a word, they were prototypes of the famous wooden images of Easter Island. Such was the appearance of the two *akuaku* whose images and culture hero Tuu-ko-ihu fixed forever in wood (p. 260). Such is still the aspect of the dead when they manifest themselves in dreams. A girl whom we knew well told us that in a nightmare she had seen her grandfather nodding to her. When he turned his face toward her, she noticed that he was half-rotted and that his bowels, in an advanced state of putrefaction, were visible.

Ghosts were especially terrifying and Roussel (190, p. 495) writes: "They seemed to fear very much the haunting souls. Very often they came for me to drive away these malignant spirits of their fathers or mothers who frightened them and tore at their bowels." Even now the *akuaku* interfere in the daily life of Easter Islanders. A girl who was attending our camp and who had been to the well to draw water came back shivering and white, telling us that an *akuaku* had taken the pail she had left on the edge of the

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

776 well. Actually one of us had carried it home. Tepano told me with the greatest seriousness that an *akuaku* had stolen his waistcoat with his watch and that he never found them again, although he was sure that nobody was near the place where he had left his clothes and where, he added, his cousin had died. Every man on the island will tell you that he has at some time met [177] an *akuaku*. Of course South American superstitions have influenced the natives and they see ghosts under the guise of the Christian devil, a black fellow with fiery eyes.

[825] The cats which roamed around our tents at night were considered spirits, and they were greatly feared. When their cries were heard too near or were too dismal, the terrified natives resorted to prayers and spent the night reading sacred books.

CREATION CHANT

533 A creation chant collected by Thomson in 1886 is supposed to give a list
539 of gods and goddesses who mated and produced most of the natural objects
773 known to natives. This chant was obtained from old Ure-vai-ko, who recited
776 it as the text of a tablet. Unfortunately the spelling of many native words is inaccurate and inconsistent. A translation made by Salmon is equally free, as he assumed that the procreators were all gods whose names were meaningless, and thus misunderstood the true nature of the chant. The text given here is based on Thomson's and corrected by natives, but many verses are not intelligible.

Atua-matariri ki ai ki roto ki a te Poro, ka pu te poporo.

Himahima-marao ki ai ki roto te Kihitupu-henua, ka pu te kihihi.

A Oevai ki ai ki roto Kava-kohe-kohe, ka pu te kohe.

Matua-anua ki ai ki roto ki a Pipiri-hai-tau, ka pu te miro.

A Ngingi-e-ai ki ai ki roto ki a Humu-toti, ka pu te mahute.

He Ti ki ai ki roto ki a he Ta, ka pu te ti.

A Tura ki ai ki roto ki a Tei, ka pu te mauku-uta.

A Hau [or Heu] ki ai ki roto Vava, ka pu te turéme.

A he Kai ki ai ki roto He Peue, ka pu te matea.

Viri-koue ki ai ki roto Aringa-reheuru-arero, ka pu te rona.

God-of-the-angry-look by copulating with Roundness (?) produced the *poporo* (*Solanum nigrum*).

Himahima-marao by copulating with Lichen-growing-on-the-soil produced the lichen.

Oevai (?) by copulating with Fern produced the fern.

The Parent-mother by copulating with Pipiri-hai-tau produced wood.

Dryness by copulating with Humu-toti (Tattooing-of-the-leg) produced the paper mulberry.

Ti by copulating with Ta [Tattooing] produced the ti.

Elevation (?) by copulating with Highness produced the inland-grass.

Hau tree by copulating with Vava (?) produced the *turéme* (*Dichelachne sciurea*).

Sharpness by copulating with Adz produced obsidian.

Twining by copulating with Beautiful-face-with-penetrating-tongue produced the morning-glory plant.

Ii Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto kia Riri-tuna-rai, ka pu te nia.

Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto ki te Vuhi-atua, ka pu te toro-miro.

Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto ki te Puhavao-atua, ka pu te moana.

A he Uru ki ai ki roto te Tumu, ka pu te marikuru.

A te Veke ki ai ki roto Pohuhutu-hutu-tere-vai-mangaro, ka pu te veke.

A Hahamea ki ai ki roto Hohio, ka pu te takaure.

A Ukia ki ai ki roto More-manga, ka pu te ngarava.

Vie Moko ki ai ki roto kia Tea, ka pu te kena.

Te Reheue ki ai ki roto Vie Raupa ka pu te raupa.

A he Roe ki ai ki roto Uuhipura [or Nuhepura], ka pu te roe.

Te Hatu ki ai ki roto kia te Api-ai-raro, ka pu te toa.

Ira-pupue ki ai ki roto Ira-kaka, ka pu te pia.

Mangeongeo ki ai ki roto he Rake-rake, ka pu te kape.

A Hue ki ai ki roto Pana, ka pu te hue.

He Hina [He ima?] ki ai ki roto kia Rui-haka-ma-rui, ka pu te raa.

Huru-au ki ai ki roto Hina-oio, ka pu te moa.

A Hikua ki ai ki roto Hina-oio, ka pu te uraura.

Tingahae ki ai ki roto Parararara-hiku-tea, ka pu te niuhi.

A Hikue ki ai ki roto Hina-oioi, ka pu te taoraha.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Hihohiho-ki-te-turu, ka pu te paroko.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Hina-popoia, ka pu te Hina-kauhara.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Maea, ka pu te herahera-kiko-mea.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Ruru-tiki-te-hatu, ka pu te Ririkatea.

E timo te raamea [amura he ki te aro] mo tunu te ika, mo hangai i te ariki.

Parent-god by copulating with Angry-eel produced the coconut. 533

Parent-god by copulating with Vuhi-the-god produced the *toro-miro* tree. 539

Parent-god by copulating with Puhavao-the-god produced green-leaves. 773

Grove by copulating with Trunk produced the ashwood tree (*Sapindus saponaria*). 776

Dragon fly by copulating with Bug-that-flies-on-fresh-water produced the dragon fly.

Stinging-fly by copulating with Swarm-of-flies produced the fly.

Branch by copulating with Broken-crotch produced the beetle-living-in-rotten-wood.

Goddess Moko by copulating with Whiteness produced the gannet.

Reheue (?) by copulating with Goddess-leaf produced the leaves.

Ant by copulating with Uuhipura [or Nuhepura, Glowworm?] produced the ant.

Hard-soil by copulating with Covering-below produced the sugar cane.

Irrigation by copulating with Leaves produced the arrowroot.

Acridness by copulating with Bad-taste produced the arum.

Calabash by copulating with Pana (?) produced calabash.

Moon (?) by copulating with Darkness (?) produced Sun.

Feather by copulating with Hina-oio (?) produced the fowl.

Tail (?) by copulating with Hina-oio produced the crayfish.

Killing by copulating with Flat-one-of-the-white-tail (the sting ray) produced the shark.

Tail (?) by copulating with Hina-oioi (?) produced the whale.

Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Running-and-flowing-down [water] produced the rockfish.

Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Hina-the-heaped-up produced Hina-kauhara.

Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Stone produced burning-red-meat (?).

Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Ruru-tiki-the-lord produced (king) Ririkatea.

He taught that the brook fish . . . were to be cooked and given as food for the king.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

533 Takoua ki ai ki roto Tukouo, ka pu te poopoo.
539 E Toto te uhi no kino no naroko no nga oreno, no nga tokotoko rua papa.
773
776 E puoko te maika no Tupa-iti[28] no Tupa-nui[28].
Uku ki ai ki roto kia Rori, ka pu te ngaatu.
Kuhikia ki ai ki roto Taurari, ka pu te ngaatu.
Kuhikia ki ai ki roto Rupe-roa, ka pu te turi.
Taaria ki ai ki roto Taaria, ka pu te tau-eehu.
Hainge (?) ki ai ki roto Hatukuti, ka pu te evea.
Pauaroroko ki ai ki roto Hakukuti, ka pu te tae-rongo-veteve.

Hini-rere-rere ki ai ki roto Kanohotata-poro, ka pu te poporo.

Numia a Tangaire turu herohero te toto o te o kovare.
Ka mau te kovare, taratara te kovare.
Turu ki te ua manau (?) manavai roa.
Ruanuku [raituahe a ana kihorou eaa e toe tua tanu to tana moko] eaha hangai e toe e uhi, e kumara.

Takoua by copulating with Tukouo produced the poopoo-fish.
(Thomson's translation: "E Toto discovered the sweet taste of the yam and made it the principal food of the people.")
The head of the banana is for King Tupa-iti and King Tupa-nui.
Uku (?) by copulating with Undulation produced the bulrush.
Kuhikia (?) by copulating with Wetness produced the bulrush.
Kuhikia by copulating with Pigeon produced the sea-gull.
Small-thing by copulating with Small-thing produced the imperceptible-thing.
Hainge (?) by copulating with Hatukuti produced the wind (?).
Pauaroroko (?) by copulating with Hakukuti (?) produced the free-ones-who-do-not-obey.
Delaying-to-run (?) by copulating with Staying-until-tomorrow produced the poporo plant.
It runs red, the blood of the *kovare*.

Abundant the *kovare*, rough the eels.
The rain falls in long drops.
Ruanuku . . .
. . . what was left to be fed on the yams and the sweet potatoes.

539 The value of this version of the chant is impaired by uncertain spellings,
773 arbitrary translations, and the unintelligibility of the last part of the text
776 which seems to have no connection with the first part. All attempts to discover the original sequence and meaning of the words failed despite the assistance of the natives. Though some parts of the text remain obscure, the general character is obvious. It is a typical Polynesian procreation chant patterned after the genealogical recitals stressed in eastern Polynesian society. The scheme of the chant is simple and monotonous. It consists of the enumeration of a series of natural objects, such as plants, animals, and celestial phenomena, represented as offspring of progenitors, some of whom are gods and others personified natural objects or abstract qualities belonging to the object supposed to have been produced by their union.

The names which could not be translated may refer to deities, but probably this will never be proved. The parents who are unmistakably gods are: Atua-Matariri (God-of-the-angry-face), whose name suggests the god Tu in New Zealand; Atua-metua (God-parent); Matua-anua, a name translated by Easter Islanders as "God-mother", a doubtful interpretation as he is a male. Motua-anua bears great resemblance to Anua-motua, the

[28] Tupa-iti and Tupa-nui are certainly proper names. Salmon makes Tupa synonymous with king, "King Tupa figures in Easter Island and in Mangareva, where he is said to have introduced various plants." This linking of the names from two areas is purely hypothetical.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

539
773
776

name of a Mangarevan legendary character who is said to have colonized the island of Mataki-te-rangi. This transposition would not be unusual in the Polynesian language.

Tiki-te-hatu is the famous Tiki, the first man or the creator of the first man in central and marginal Polynesia. Tiki copulates with Hina-the-heaped-up and begets Hina-kauhara, who is connected in a legend with the great god Makemake (p. 314). Throughout Polynesia Hina is the first woman made of a heap of earth and generally the wife of Tiki; in the Tuamotus she is the daughter of Tiki. Rurua-tiki-te-hatu is probably a daughter of Tiki. In the Tuamotus we find also Tiki under the name of Rua-tiki, which is the equivalent of Rurua-tiki-te-hatu. The copulation of Tiki-te-hatu with stone (*maea*) is a striking allusion to the procreative act performed by Tiki with different objects (Tuamotu, Mangareva).

Te Ririkatea, probably a legendary ancestor, as his name appears in the genealogy of the kings, is said to have been a king of Marae-renga, the homeland of the Easter Islanders. Vie Moko (the Woman Lizard) is a popular character in the folklore of the island and also a spirit (*akuaku*) associated with Vie Kena (the Woman Gannet). It is not by chance that in the chant she is the parent of Kena. But here there is a strange inconsistency; Vie, the first part of her name, expresses a female, yet in the chant she occupies the place of the male parent and probably mates with Tea (Whiteness), the gannet.

Of extreme importance is the mention of Riri-tuna-rai as the female being who, with Atua-metua, conceives the coconut (*niu*). Here is a faint suggestion of the widespread Polynesian myth of the origin of the coconut which grew from the head of an eel (*tuna*), the lover of Hina. A version of this myth is present in Mangareva, but as fresh-water eels do not exist in these islands, Tuna is considered there as Man. On Easter Island there are no fresh-water eels or coconuts, and the name *niu* is given to the fruit of the *Thespesia populnea*, but the chant has retained the traditional association of the eel with the coconut.

Vuhi-atua and Puhavao-atua, who were impregnated by Atua-metua and produced the *toro-miro* and *moana* (green leaves), and Hina-oio, who is given three times as the mother of different water animals, may be deities or legendary characters of the same order as Riri-tuna-rai. As these words could not be translated by the natives, they may be proper names.

Many parents of the natural objects are themselves natural objects, personifications, or individualized qualities of the objects supposed to be their offspring. Usually things related to each other are closely associated. Thus, Kihi-tupu-henua, the ground lichen, is the mother of Kihikihi, the ordinary lichen; the *katu-kohekohe*, a species of fern, is the mother of the fern *kohe*; the *pohuhutuhutu*, an aquatic insect, is a parent of the dragon fly; the sting ray is a parent of the shark; and so on. The parts of an object may be its progenitors; for instance, trunk (*tumu*) produces the ashwood tree. The genealogy of an insect is based on its habitat—"Branch by copulating with Cut-crotch produces the beetle-living-in-rotten-wood."

Typically Polynesian is the device by which an object is made the offspring of its personified qualities. Thus acridness and bad taste produce the *hafe*, a tuber which is extremely bitter when not well cooked. Sharpness and adz are the parents of obsidian, from which knives and spearheads were made. Killing is the father of the dangerous shark (*niuhi*).

Sometimes one parent has the same name as the progeny. Thus, the ti by copulating with the ta produces the ti; the dragon fly (*reke*) by copulating with the *pohuhutuhutu* insect produces the dragon fly. As the grammatical form is not identical for parent and offspring, the author of the chant probably differentiated between the two words.

Sometimes the choice of parents seems to be based on alliteration: for instance Ti and Ta produce Ti; Ka-moho-tata-poro is mother of Poporo, and Poro is one of the parents of Poporo. The function of certain objects has led to the choice of these parents. Thus, Ta (tattoo) has been selected as the mother of Ti probably because charcoal made of ti leaves was used for tattooing.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

539 773 776 If the end of the chant were not so garbled, it might give a hint as to its practical value and the circumstances in which it was recited. The last verse stresses the importance of the yam (*uhi*) and sweet potato (*kumara*), which were the staple foods of the island.

PRIESTS

793 Our knowledge of the nature and organization of the priesthood is so slight and so confused that no clear distinction may be made between the high priests and the ordinary magicians or sorcerers. It is not possible to ascertain whether the ancient priesthood was always loosely organized or whether the original institutions were forgotten after the Peruvian raid of 1862 which crushed the native civilization of the island.

Undoubtedly the gods were attended by priests, although Geiseler (87, p. 33) and Routledge (194, p. 239) declare there were no priests, and Thomson (215, p. 470) affirms that native priests were simply wizards and sorcerers. However, Roussel (190, p. 360), our best authority on Easter Island, says: "There were priests and priestesses. Their functions were reduced to very few things: to preside at the rejoicings on the occasion of the birth of a child and to drive away the bad spirits of a sick man." Priests also composed and recited chants in honor of the dead. Such limited activity does not tally with the exalted social position of the priests; according to Roussel they were next in rank after the king.

793 787 782 We have already seen (p. 312) that Makemake manifested his will through male and female priests. These servants of the gods were inspired by the deity who entered their bodies and spoke through their mouths. The offerings of chickens, fish, and sweet potatoes were received by these priests, who also demanded human sacrifices. This information, although scant, shows that on Easter Island the power and duties of the priests did not differ very much from the general Polynesian pattern.

793 My informants and those of Routledge always attributed the performance of the religious and magic rites to the *ariki-paka*, who were noblemen of the Miru tribe (p. 129). While it is very likely that the chief priests were recruited from the royal or aristocratic families, it is doubtful that all the *ariki-paka* were fit for these functions.

171 793 The close association between nobility and priesthood is a common feature in Polynesian culture, many instances of which have been recorded on other islands. The tapus surrounding the *ariki* were, in many respects, analogous to those of the priests. The sacredness of kingship and nobility linked the *ariki* very closely with ceremonial life. A hint of the priestly nature of certain *ariki* functions is to be found in a statement made by Geiseler (87, p. 33) on the authority of Salmon: "In early days when the kings enjoyed important power and respect, they functioned as priests and they started and they led the religious festivities."

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Easter Islanders who wanted to increase their poultry so that they might celebrate a feast (*koro*) had the *ariki-paka* make a charm which contributed to the rapid increase of chickens. When invited to eat chicken meat, the priests received the rump (*huahua*) of the bird.

BIRD CULT

Until the second half of the nineteenth century the annual feast of the bird man (*tangata-manu*), held at Orongo, was extremely important to Easter Islanders. The rites performed were not only connected with the cult of the greatest god of the island, Makemake, but were endowed with special social significance, since ideas of prestige and economic privileges were closely associated with these ceremonies. The ostensible purpose of the ceremony was to obtain the first egg of the *manu-tara* (*Sterna hirundo*, sooty tern), the quest for which was entrusted to servants (*hopu*). The chief whose servant discovered the first egg received the envied title of bird-man (*tangata-manu*). This title, surrounded with tapus, brought to its holder and to members of his lineage certain material advantages and vast moral and religious benefits.

The far-reaching significance of the bird cult is illustrated by the extensive remains at Orongo, one of the most interesting archaeological sites on the island, and by the frequent use of bird and bird-man motifs in all forms of Easter Island art—tablets, wooden images, petroglyphs. The importance of birds in Easter Island culture and the use of birds as the basis for a religious cult are undoubtedly due to the poverty of the island fauna in which birds were the only conspicuous creatures. Not only were they the most interesting living thing next to man, but they contributed thousands of eggs for food.

The bird cult did not die out until about 50 years ago, long after the introduction of Christianity. Almost all recent visitors to Easter Island have studied the bird-man cult. Consequently there is a mass of contradictory material. Routledge, realizing the essential part this cult must have played in the ancient religious and social life, devoted much attention to it, and interviewed the last man who had participated in the ceremonies at Orongo. My information was gained mostly from Tepano, who was well acquainted with some details because his uncle was one of the last bird-men. The information he gave substantiates that gathered by Routledge and adds a few more details.

Orongo

The ceremonies and feasts connected with the bird cult were performed at Orongo, on the slopes of Rano-kao at the southwest point of the island. The village of Orongo lies on the narrow ridge separating the sea from the crater lake. It was temporarily occupied at the time of the yearly feast and deserted the rest of the year.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

who reigned without taking part in the civilian government. Such an explanation would be quite natural if there were in Polynesia any other example of an institution of this kind, but in no Polynesian community is there the slightest hint of such a custom.

One should keep in mind that the feast was in honor of Makemake and Haua, the first being a bird-god. He probably derived this attribute from Tane with whom he has some characteristics in common. Images of a being with a bird head and a human body, sometimes holding an egg in his hand, are representations of the god Makemake. It follows that the bird-man was an incarnation of the god. Probably, according to the Polynesian way of thinking, he was the receptacle of the god. The race would thus have no other purpose than to give Makemake an opportunity to designate the man into whose body he wished to enter. I suppose that the bird-man, because of his highly sacred character, was authorized to plunder and to avail himself of the goods of other natives. His seclusion may well have been a result of the strong tapu attached to him as a consequence of his contact with the god. Even explained in terms of Polynesian culture, the institution of the bird-man recalls that of the temporary kings, principally those of Siam. Possibly the evolution of culture traits has created a cultural complex superficially akin to others, probably having an entirely different basis.

Comparisons with Other Polynesian Cults

The complex of the bird cult as it is reconstructed from second-hand information has no parallel in the rest of Polynesia. Of course, incarnation of gods in animals is a fundamental character of Polynesian religions, but nowhere else were there open competitions resulting in the election of a sacred man. Figures of a man with a bird's head occur elsewhere only on the island of Lanai in the Hawaiian group. There Emory found petroglyphs representing a man with a bird head, and suggests (75, p. 120) that it is not by chance that the bank on which these petroglyphs are carved is called Kaneapua, the name of a bird-man, and that a heiau near the bank bears the name Halulu, a mythical bird. The common motif of Maori art called *manaia* has been described as a fantastic being with a bird head. Actually it is probably a derivative of the traditional representation of the human figure.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Disease was treated by priests (*ivi-atua*) and was probably connected with religion as in Mangareva. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 70) says that the natives merely removed the sick from their huts during the day and returned them at night. My inquiries contradict Eyraud's hasty statement; it is likely that magic beliefs and scientific conceptions were closely intermingled with practical treatments.

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

DIVORCE

Island marriage appears to be a firmer institution today than it was in the not-too-distant past. This is in part due to Chilean governmental authority backing the church in its taboo against divorce. When divorces do occur, they tend to follow the early Polynesian custom of an unceremonious departure of one of the mates. Owing to the island's government frowning upon such action, and its active interest in making the natives understand that the question of divorce is a legal matter, the Easter Islander's attitude toward divorce is at present in a state of flux.

Jorge Tepano reflected the church and governmental attitude when, in discussing the problem, he took the firm stand that divorce could only be obtained on the basis of adultery and that it was for the governor, in his capacity of judge, to determine who was the guilty party and to make a property settlement on the basis of existing Chilean laws. However, this strongly acculturated view is not necessarily adhered to most commonly. Governor Curti informed me of the marriage of a forty-five year old native to a girl of seventeen. This man built a home alongside that of the girl's parents in an effort to make her comfortable, but the girl refused to live with him in the new house. Becoming angry, he tore the house down and put it up on his own parcel of land, demanding that the girl come to live with him. She again refused, and the matter was taken before the governor. There apparently is no law that specifically demands that a wife live with her husband or, if it exists, it is unenforceable on the island. After various attempts at persuasion, the governor used his prerogative of turning over the woman's ration allowance of foods and dry goods to her husband, but when I left the island this action had had no effect upon the woman, her own family having taken up the burden of supporting her. Officially, as long as the girl did not legally marry again, her action could only be looked upon as a separation, though in native eyes it constitutes a divorce in the old style and is accepted as such. Whereas marriages solemnized by civil and religious ceremonies run into legal difficulties in the event of a divorce, common law marriages appear not to have this difficulty, in spite of the fact that, though legally not recognised, they are tacitly accepted officially to the extent that in the island's rationing lists such illegal matches are listed as family units.

DEATH

The Easter Islander appears to have no personal fear of death and, for the most part, looks upon it from a rather fatalistic point of view. A notable exception to this is seen in his superstitious attitude toward Rongo Rongo caves, whose

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

761 tablets are guarded by "devils" that will, in extreme cases, kill a man who stumbles
● [776] upon such a cave and steals one of the tablets.

177 I had no time nor opportunity to delve into any beliefs that might exist regard-
775 ing what happens to a person after death, but I suspect that here the church has
764 made deep inroads, for the dead are now given the last rites of the church and then buried in a Catholic cemetery.

177 Immediately upon the death of an individual a certain amount of grief will be
764 shown by the immediate kin, but this appears to be more the result of natural
797 shock than of any culturally determined mourning pattern. Between the time of death and the holding of last rites, the body is kept on view in the victim's house, after which it is carried in its coffin to the church where the last rites are administered by the island's priest. As the body is carried from the church to the cemetery
(533) the cortege breaks into song. Some of these are of the slow, religious type, but many have an almost gay lilt. During and after the church services there is no overt expression of mourning on the part of the nearest kin, but as the casket is lowered into the ground a near-hysteria of grief breaks out among the closest relatives of the deceased and is explained by my informants on the basis that this is the final separation from a beloved one.

174 Since, as appears to be the case, the strongest impact of death comes with the
177 physical parting of the dead from the living, one cannot help but wonder if this
764 final show of extreme mourning is a direct result of the more abrupt practices of Christian religion rather than an Easter Island trait of long standing. It was not, after all, many years ago that burial exposure was practiced: by this method, at least the fleshy parts of the body disappear slowly over a length of time — it is only after the bones are left that final burial takes place in a tomb, usually a surface stone structure or a vault within the platform of an *ahu*. The change from a long drawn out physical relationship with the body to a sudden disappearance of a body in a pit, and the change from customary surface burial to sub-surface interment must have required considerable psychological adjustment. Today's overt manifestation of extreme grief as the body is lowered into the ground may, therefore, indicate that this adjustment to a new burial practice is not complete. On the other hand it may, perhaps, reflect a mourning pattern formerly used when the fleshless bones were given their final resting place.

765 During the evening of the day of burial the family of the deceased gives a large *umu* feast, often including music and dancing, for all visitors. At this time there are certain taboos with regard to the eating of the *umu* food by the immediate family. Thus, if a father dies neither his brothers and sisters, his children, nor his wife may partake of the food thus prepared. If a child has died neither

11: Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935)1937
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 174 [212] sided over the experts in *rongorongo*, the repository of ancient traditions, genealogies, etc. They used tablets (Kohau *rongorongo*) engraved with signs as an aid to memory. The signs of *rongorongo* were the object of organized teaching.

194 764 769 [915] The Pascuans practiced a form of double inhumation. The body was exposed on the *ahu* until the flesh dried up or turned to dust. The bones were then placed in the burial chambers. Sometimes the skull was preserved separately. There was a general fear of the spirits of the dead. Commemorative feasts were held in front of the tombs, where chickens were exchanged for a ritual purpose. The statues at the foot of Rano Raraku represent the dead. Several of them have tatoo marks which were still used during the historical period. Later, the images of the dead also were placed on the *ahus*.

194 776 [171] The Pascuans had a large number of gods, the chief of whom was Makó Makó. The same name appeared in other Polynesian mythologies. It would seem to be connected with the source of that which supplied the material needs of the Pascuans—cultivation and fishing. It was thus connected with the Marquesan Tiki, whose mask it resembled in almost every detail. Makó Makó is the creator of birds. One of the less obscure features of his cult is the indication, by means of birds, of a man [10] who probably represents the god, and who each spring gives place to another. Ritual feasts at which human flesh was eaten were a part of this cult, as well as also initiation ceremonies at puberty. [266]

195 199 The end of the old culture was hastened by the arrival of Europeans, who revealed a new world to the Pascuans, a world totally different from their own. From that time onward they lost without any effort both peace and the joy of life. Their restless spirit drove them to undertake the most savage warfare, which decimated them, ruined their culture and overthrew its monuments. Works of art were given up, traditions were lost, so that even the memory of their existence has perished. The whalers and slavers completed the task of destruction already well advanced. After being Christianized the Pascuans became ashamed of most of their past history, and essayed, not without success, to remove all traces of it from memory.

[10] Tangata Manu—bird man. He was the first to get possession of the first egg laid by the bird *Manutara* (breast) in the island of Motunui (spring equinox).

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

listening for the birds"; here men kept watch day and night for news from the islet below.

The privilege of obtaining the first egg was a matter of competition between members of the Mata-toa, but the right to be one of the competitors was secured only by supernatural means. An "iviatua," a divinely-gifted individual, dreamed that a certain man was favoured by the gods, so that if he entered for the race he would be a winner, or, in technical parlance, become a bird-man or "tangata manu"; it was also ordained that he should then take a new name, which formed part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology. The nomination might be taken up at once or not for many years; and if not used by the original nominee it might descend to his son or grandson; one case was mentioned where a young man who was victorious passed on the honours to an older relative. If a man did not win he might try again or "say that the iviatua was a liar" and retire from the contest. Women were never nominated, but the iviatua might be male or female and, needless to say, was rewarded with presents of food. There were four gods, or "atua," connected with the eggs—Hawa-tuu-také-také, called "chief of the eggs," and Maké-maké, who were male deities; also Vié Hoa, the wife of Hawa, and Vié Kenatea, who were females; each of these four had a servant whose names were given and who were also supernatural beings. Two iviatua "called themselves after Hawa and Make-maké" respectively, but this seems to have been exceptional. Those going to take the eggs recited the names of the gods before meat, inviting them to partake. The actual competitors were men of importance and spent their time with the rest of the Ao at the village of Orongo; they selected servants to represent them and await the coming of the birds in less comfortable quarters in the islet below.

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

532 291 represented any of the numerous feather headdresses of pre-Christian days. There was, however, a hat very commonly worn made of native grass, which has survived and is the almost universal wear at the present time. The general shape of this hat is not dissimilar to that of the images, except that it has a circular brim where the hats of the images have none, but project, as has been said, over the forehead. It may of course point to an adaptation in the stone or to an evolution in the shape of the hat; the point which is interesting is that in living memory such hats had a knob on the top similar to that of the crowns of the images.

532 304 In regard to the design on the back of the images we were more successful; it was definitely recognized as a tattoo design remembered by the older men.

The form of the ears elicited the most interesting information. We have seen that the images represent a race who artificially enlarged the lobe of the ear, a custom which is of course common in many parts of the world. The early voyagers noted that it prevailed among the Easter Islanders of their day. In reply to inquiries on this head it was said that women had the ears enlarged till the coming of Christianity, and two still survived with pierced ears, but such a custom amongst men was unheard of. By persistent search, however, an old leper was found who recalled the fact that the father of his foster-father had had such ears. He had asked as a child for the reason, receiving the illuminating reply that "the old people had their ears like that." Subsequently two other old men were remembered who had had long ears. The custom must therefore have been abandoned by the men towards the end of the eighteenth century. It is noteworthy that this makes the change contemporaneous with the visits of Gonzales, Cook, and La Perouse, and it seems highly probable that this is more than a coincidence. We know that the natives were 609 greatly impressed by the white men, and that they were strongly imitative. 796 In riding round the island we saw the remains of a very large house. 796 "That," we were told, "was where they praised the gods." "What gods?" we naturally asked. "The white men who came in ships" was the unexpected answer. The worship took the form of erecting a crude model of the deck of a European ship both in these special houses and out of doors. Masts were put up. A captain was chosen who strode about and gave orders; the others represented the crew and imitated the various actions incidental to working a ship. The clothes obtained from ships were kept as stage properties for such representations. This custom was in full swing within living memory, and was traced back as far as the grandfathers of the present old men. It will of course be remembered that Cook was similarly taken for a god in the Sandwich Islands.

532 We have seen firstly what tradition has to tell us about the images; and secondly what can be gleaned as to their history from the images themselves. There is still another class of evidence. Attention has been drawn to the fact that Easter Island has produced not only gigantic stone

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

must have been comparatively recent, as an iron nail was found in it. Finally, a descent of earth had covered all but the noses, leaving them in the condition in which we found them. 172

This, though a satisfactory explanation as far as it went, did not account for the fact that the figures were facing the mountain, and here for once tradition came to our help. These images had, it was said, marked a boundary; the line of demarcation led between them, from the fissure in the cliff above right down to the middle statue in the great Tongariki terrace. To cross it was death; but as to what the boundary connoted no information was forthcoming; there seemed no great tribal division—the same clans ranged over the whole of the district. When, however, the line is followed through the crevice into the crater (fig. 47), it is found to form on both sides the boundary where the image-making ceased (no. 1 is a detached figure being brought down, not in a quarry), and was probably the line of taboo which preserved the rights of the image-makers. I was later given the cheering information that a certain "devil" frequented the site of my house, which was just on the image side of the boundary, who particularly resented the presence of strangers, and was given to strangling them in the night. The spirits, who inhabit the crater, are still so unpleasant, that my Kanaka maid objected to taking clothes there to wash, even in daylight, till assured that our party would be working within call. [776]

Isolated Statues.—The finished statues, as distinct from those in the quarries, have so far been spoken of under two heads, those which once adorned the ahu and those still standing on the slope of Raraku; there is, however, another class to consider, which, for want of a better name, will be termed the Isolated Statues. It has already been stated that, as Raraku is approached, a number of figures lie by the side of the modern track, others are round the base of the mountain, and yet other isolated specimens are scattered about the island. All these images are prostrate and lie on the surface of the ground, some on their backs and some on their faces. These were the ones which, according to legend, were being moved from the quarries to the ahu by the old lady when she stopped the work in her wrath; or, according to another account, quoted by a visitor before our day, "They walked, and some fell by the way."

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

CHAPTER XVI

NATIVE CULTURE IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES (*continued*)

Religion—Position of the Miru Clan—The Script—The Bird Cult—Wooden Carvings.

RELIGION

771 THE religion of the Islanders, employing the word in our sense, seems always to have been somewhat hazy,[1] and the difficulty in grasping it now is increased by the fact that since becoming Roman Catholics they dislike giving the name of "atua," or god, to their old deities; it only drops out occasionally. They 776 term them "aku-aku," which means spirits, or more frequently "tatane," a word of which the derivation is obvious. The confusion of ideas was crystallised by a native, who gravely remarked that they were uncertain whether one of these beings was God or the Devil, so they "wrote to Tahiti, and Tahiti wrote to Rome, and Rome said he was not the Devil, he was God"; a modern view being apparently taken at headquarters of the evolution of religious ideas. Both these words, tatane and aku-aku, will be employed for supernatural beings, without prejudice to their [128] original character, or claims to divinity; some of them were certainly the spirits of the dead, but had probably become deified; the ancestors of Hotu-matua were reported to have come with him to the island. They existed in large numbers, being both male and female, and were connected with different parts of the island; a list of about ninety was given, with their places of 776 residence. No worship was paid, and the only notice taken 782 of these supernatural persons was to mention before meals 264 the names of those to whom a man owed special duty, and

[1] Our impressions on this head are confirmed by a remark of Brother Eyraud. "Though I have lived in the greatest of intimacy and familiarity with them, I have never been able to discover them in any act of actual religious worship."—*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Jan. 1866.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

invite them to partake; it was etiquette to mention with your own the patron of any guest who was present. There was no sacrifice; the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only. Nevertheless, the aku-aku, in this at least being human, were amiable or the reverse according to whether or not they were well fed. If they were hungry, they ate women and children, and one was reported as having a proclivity for stealing potatoes; if, on the contrary, they were well-disposed to a man, they would do work for him, and he would wake in the morning to find his potato-field dug, which, as our informant truly remarked, was "no like Kanaka."

The aku-aku appeared in human form, in which they were indistinguishable from ordinary persons. One known as Uka-o-hoheru looked like a very beautiful woman, and was the wife of a young Tupahotu who had no idea she was really a tatane. She lived with him at Mahatua on the north coast, and bore him a child. One very wet day she was obliged to leave the house to take fresh fire to the cooking-place where it had gone out. When she returned, her husband was angry that she had no red paint on her face, and, not heeding her explanation that the rain had washed it off, took a stick to beat her. She ran away, and he followed, till at last she sat down on the edge of the eastern headland, where there is now an ahu known by her name. When by and by he came up, she told him to go back and look after the child, and fled away like a rushing whirlwind over the sea and was no more seen.

Two other female tatane are reported to have lived together in a cave on the cliff-side of Paréhé,[1] whose names were Kava-ara and Kava-tua. They heard all men tell of the beauty of a certain Uré-a-hohové, a young man who lived near Hanga Roa; so they went down to see him, put him to sleep, and carried him on his mat up to their cave, where they left him. Before going away they told an old woman, also an aku-aku, that she was not to go and look into the cave. This she naturally proceeded to do, and, finding Uré, warned him to eat nothing the two tatane might give to him, supplying him herself with some

[1] The outermost of the three hillocks on the eastern volcano on which the Spaniards set up the crosses in 1770. Half of it has been worn away by coastal erosion (fig. 78).

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

chicken. When therefore his captors came back and offered him food, he only pretended to take it, and ate the chicken instead. They then went away again. The old woman came back, and said, "If cockroaches come, kill them; if flies come, kill them; but if a crab comes, do not kill it." Uré did as he was told, and killed the cockroaches and flies, which were other tatane; but the crab he did not kill, it was the old woman. Meanwhile for many days the father of Uré wept for him, till some men sailing under the cliff while fishing, heard a song, and looking up saw the missing man; but they would not go and fetch him, though the father gave them much food, for the cliff was steep and the cave difficult to reach. At last a woman volunteered for the task, and was lowered over the cliff in a net, and by this means succeeded in fetching Uré safely to the top. The history ends with his return to his home, and does not mention if, in correct fashion, he married his fair deliverer.

Aku-aku were not immortal. A man called Raraku, after whom the mountain is said to have been named, caught a big "heke," which seems to have been an octopus, in the sea near Tongariki and ate it, with the result that he went mad, and all people gave chase to him. He caught up a wooden lizard (fig. 117), and, using it as a club, ran amok among tatane across the north shore and down the west coast, killing them right and left; the names of twenty-three were given who thus met their fate.

Human beings, on the other hand, were liable to be attacked by tatane, more particularly at night, when there was risk, not only to their bodies, but also to their own spirits,[1] which were at large while they slept. It is still firmly believed that in dreams the soul visits any locality present to the thought. On one of the ahu is a rough erection of slabs, said to be the house of the aku-aku Mata-wara-wara, or "Strong-Rain." He had as a partner another aku-aku called Papai-a-taki-vera, and they arranged between them that Mata should bring on rain, while Papai constructed a house of reeds which was only there at night; then when the spirits of sleeping people, which were wandering abroad, became cold with the rain, they went into the house and the tatane killed them. The unfortunate sleeper waked in the morning feeling distinctly unwell, he lingered on for two or three

[1] The same word aku-aku was used for the spirit both of the living and the dead, or else the Tahitian "varua"; they were said to be equivalent.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

days, and then died. It was not essential to life to have a soul, but you could not really get on comfortably without it. No knowledge survives of any belief or ideas with regard to a future state. The spirit, it was said, appeared occasionally for five or ten years after a man's death and then vanished.

Pan in the shape of tatane is by no means dead. Not only do such beings haunt the crater of Rano Raraku, but tales are told of weird apparitions at dusk which vanish mysteriously into space.

There were no priests, but certain men, known as "koromaké," practised spells which would secure the death of an enemy, and there was also the class known as "ivi-atua," which included both men and women. The most important of these ivi-atua, of whom it was said there might be perhaps ten in the island, held commune with the aku-aku, others were able to prophesy, and could foresee the whereabouts of fish or turtle, while some had the gift of seeing hidden things, and would demand contributions from a secreted store of bananas or potatoes, in a way which was very disconcerting to the owner.

There was practically only one religious function of a general nature; it was very popular and had a surprising origin. Attention was attracted on the south coast by a particularly long stoep of rounded pebbles measuring 139 feet, and obviously connected with a thatched house now disappeared. That, our guides said in answer to a question, "is a haré-a-té-atua, where they praised the gods." "What gods?" "The men who came from far away in ships. They saw they had pink cheeks, and they said they were gods." The early voyagers, for the cult went back at least three generations, were therefore taken for deities in the same way as Cook was at Hawaii. The simplest form of this celebration took place on long mounds of earth known as "miro-o-orne," or earth-ships, of which there are several in the island, one of them with a small mound near it to represent a boat. Here the natives used to gather together and act the part of a European crew, one taking the lead and giving orders to the others. A more formal ceremony was held in a large house. This had three doors on each side by which the singers entered, who were up to a hundred in number, and ranged themselves in lines within; in one house, of which a diagram was drawn, a deep hole was dug in the middle, at the

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

of whom Viriamo was one. The group of houses at the end among the carved rocks was taboo during the festival, for they were inhabited by the rongo-rongo men, the western half being apportioned to the experts from Hotu Iti, the eastern to those from Kotuu. "They chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that was all." They came at the command of Ngaara, but it is noteworthy that he himself never appeared at Orongo, though he sometimes paid a friendly call at Mataveri.

A short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a cave known as "Haka-rongo-manu," or "listening for the birds"; here men kept watch day and night for news from the islet below.

The privilege of obtaining the first egg was a matter of competition between members of the Ao, but the right to be one of the competitors was secured only by supernatural means. An "ivi-atua," a divinely gifted individual, of the kind who had the gift of prophecy, dreamed that a certain man was favoured by the gods, so that if he entered for the race he would be a winner, or, in technical parlance, become a bird-man, or "tangata-manu." The victor, on being successful, was ordered to take a new name, which formed part of the revelation, and this bird-name was given to the year in which victory was achieved, thus forming an easily remembered system of chronology. The nomination might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson. If a man did not win, he might try again, or say that "the ivi-atua was a liar," and retire from the contest. Women were never nominated, but the ivi-atua might be male or female, and, needless to say, was rewarded with presents of food. There were four "gods" connected with the eggs—Hawa-tuu-take-take, who was "chief of the eggs," and Make-make, both of whom were males; there were also two females, Vie Hoa, the wife of Hawa, and Vie Kenatea. Each of these four had a servant, whose names were given, and who were also supernatural beings. Those going to take the eggs recited the names of the gods before meat, inviting them to partake.

The actual competitors were men of importance, and spent their time with the remainder of the Ao in the stone houses of the village of Orongo; they selected servants to represent them and await the coming of the birds in less comfortable quarters in the islet below. These men, who were known as